

## Message Text

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46

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 IO-13 ACDA-19 OMB-01 NEAE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15 SAJ-01 MBFR-03

NIC-01 RSR-01 /145 W

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P R 061440Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7682

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION UN

USDOCOSOUTH

EUCOM

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 1709

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CY

SUBJECT: MAKARIOS REPLIES TO GRIVAS PROCLAMATION

REF: NICOSIA 1694; FBIS M050813

SUMMARY: AUGUST 5 GRIVAS AND MAKARIOS EACH ISSUED NEW STATEMENTS. GRIVAS DEMANDS MAKARIOS STEP ASIDE OR ACCEPT GRIVAS EARLIER "FIVE POINTS," FAILING WHICH HE PROMISES STRUGGLE BY ANY MEANS. MAKARIOS RESPONSE INVITES GRIVAS TO PUBLIC COMPETITION, REPORTS APPARENT EFFORT SET UP AMBUSH FOR HIM. THOUGH BILLED AS "FINAL" STATEMENT, GRIVAS APPARENTLY HAS MORE TO SAY. BOTH CALL FOR "DEMOCRATIC" CHOICE, BUT GRIVAS TERMS PROBABLY RULE OUT COMPROMISE ON FORM IN WHICH CHOICE COULD BE EXPRESSED. END SUMMARY.

1. IN LONG, EMOTIONAL PROCLAMATION (FBIS REF) TO GREEK CYPRIOT  
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PEOPLE AUGUST 5, GRIVAS GAVE ARCHBISHOP "FINAL WARNING" EITHER

TO (1) ACCEPT THE PLAN SET FORTH AT THEIR MEETING IN MARCH 1972 OR (2) "TO CONFRONT US WITH PEACEFUL MEANS AND IN A DEMOCRATIC WAY...UNDER CONDITIONS WHICH WE HAVE REPEATEDLY SUBMITTED" (I.E., THE FIVE POINTS OF THE AUGUST 1 PAMPHLET -- NICOSIA REFTEL), OR (3) ACCEPT THE PROSPECT OF A CIVIL WAR ("HE WANTS WAR. HE WILL HAVE IT."). STATEMENT ALSO JUSTIFIES GRIVAS BEHAVIOR SINCE 1960 AND INCLUDES LONG BILL OF PARTICULARS AGAINST MAKARIOS STEWARDSHIP. DESPITE COMMENT THAT HE WILL NOT CONTINUE "FRUITLESS DISCUSSION THROUGH THE PRESS," GENERAL SAYS HE WILL (1) SUBMIT "VERY BRIEFLY" FOR PUBLICATION DETAILS RE MARCH 1972 MEETING WITH MAKARIOS AND MAKARIOS EFFORTS RENEGE ON AGREEMENT TO IMPLEMENT PLAN PRESENTED AT THAT TIME (CALLING INTER ALIA FOR MAKARIOS RESIGNATION, CHOICE OF REPLACEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO RIGHTIST CAMP, RESHUFFLING OF CABINET: SEE NICOSIA 781 AND 789 OF APRIL 3 AND 4, 1972), AND "IN DUE COURSE" (2) SPEAK ON ALLEGED MAKARIOS EFFORTS PREVENT CREATION CYPRUS ARMY IN 1964 AND (3) PUBLISH EVIDENCE RE MAKARIOS ROLE IN 1967 INCIDENTS.

2. IN EQUALLY ABUSIVE REPLY, MAKARIOS REJECTED ALL BLACKMAIL TERMS AND CALLED 1972 GRIVAS PLAN DANGEROUSLY "NAIVE". SAID GRIVAS AT THEIR MARCH 1972 MEETING HAD INSISTED THAT GOG WOULD BE COMPELLED ACCEPT ENOSIS. (THIS ACCORDS WITH INFORMATION WE HAVE FROM OTHER SOURCES RE SUBSTANCE 1972 MEETING.) MAKARIOS ACCEPTED WITH PLEASURE GRIVAS CHALLENGE FOR "DEMOCRATIC CONFRONTATION", CALLING ON GENERAL TO ABANDON LAWLESSNESS, PUT HIS PROGRAM TO THE PEOPLE, AND ABIDE BY POPULAR VERDICT. AUGUST 6 PIO EXPLAINED THAT SUCH "DEMOCRATIC CONFRONTATION" WOULD ENTAIL PROCLAMATION OF ELECTIONS IF GRIVAS WOULD (1) ABANDON TERRORISM AND (2) ABIDE BY PROMISE RESPECT VERDICT OF PEOPLE IN DEMOCRATIC CONTESTS. MAKARIOS FURTHER ACCUSED GRIVAS OF PLANNING ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON ROAD LEADING TO SUMMER RESIDENCE IN TRODOS. (THIS REGARD, AUGUST 5 PAPERS PUBLISHED PICTURES AND DETAILS OF ALLEGED AMBUSH SITE, WITH FIVE POSITIONS SHOWN, ONE REPORTEDLY FOR MACHINE GUN USE.)

3. OTHER MINOR EVENTS OVER WEEKEND WERE VOLUNTEER SURRENDER TO POLICE AND SUBSEQUENT DETENTION OF PHOTIS PAPAPHOTIS, LEADER OF GRIVASITE ESEA MOVEMENT, AND SABOTAGE OF CBC RADIO RELAY STATION NEAR PAPHOS. CONFIDENTIAL

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4. COMMENT: PRECIPITOUS ESCALATION OF RHETORIC AND NAME CALLING SINCE FRIDAY HAS SO FAR NOT BEEN MATCHED BY COMMENSURATE RISE IN VIOLENCE BUT TRODOS AMBUSH SITE IS OMINOUS DEVELOPMENT. (WE DONT KNOW WHETHER IT IS GENUINE.) MOST HOPEFUL NOTE IS THAT GRIVAS PROMISE OF VIOLENCE IS MADE CONTINGENT UPON REFUSAL TO FOLLOW "DEMOCRATIC" PROCEDURES, BUT GRIVAS AND MAKARIOS DEFINITIONS THIS REGARD SO FAR APART, AND GRIVAS TERMS SO PATENTLY UNACCEP-

TABLE, THAT THE TWO ARE UNLIKELY TO AGREE ON MEANS TO SUBMIT ISSUE  
TO PEOPLE. GRIVASISTS HAVE REGULARLY BEEN UNWILLING  
CONTEST MAKARIOS IN STRAIGHT ELECTION, AND  
SO FAR HAVE NOT HIT UPON AN EFFECTIVE FORMULA TO DEMAND  
PLEBISCITE ON ENOSIS. MEANWHILE, AS EACH TRIES TO PROVE  
HIMSELF A BETTER ENOSIST THAN THE OTHER, WE MAY EXPECT TURKISH  
TEMPERATURES TO SOAR, AND ATHENS TO BE FACED WITH INCREASINGLY  
INSISTENT DEMANDS TO REIN IN GRIVAS.  
END COMMENT.  
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